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YANKEEES COME HOME

THE three-ring circus of Watergate goes on. Mr. Dean has given his sensational evidence after dyeing his hair darker to be taken more seriously, however, the Sunday Times thinks his glasses are now highly unsuitable and he must have inherited them from Dr. Crippen. His wife has remained charmingly blonde however and was obviously (Women's Lib please note) brought in to substitute for the dog Checkers.

To offset Watergate, Mr. Brezhnev signed a pact with Mr. Nixon. Kissinger's Atlantic Treaty proposition seems to have died the death, but obviously his balancing exercise with China is moving to fulfilment. The Chinese, as a counter to Brezhnev's pact, have exploded a 'peasants' bomb' (to quote Malcolm Caldwell) which has contaminated Japanese rainwater, seventy times the normal - but it is believed "that the radioactivity was not so high as to harm life".

It is difficult for the thinking person to take seriously the protestations of honour, loyalty, peace, prosperity and so forth which thicken the air-waves of America so conspicuously these days. But the feeling person will sense a menace in the air and a sensation that we have been here before.

After years of world domination and world-wide unpopularity the Americans have realized that the dream of the American century is as nebulous as the thousand-year Reich. Defeats in Cuba, deadlock in Korea, and defeat with no honour in South Vietnam have all sapped America's self-confidence. So, if the writing on the wall stays up long enough it will be fulfilled. "Yankees Go Home" it said. Now they've come home, except for sundry pockets of American troops and air-bases scattered throughout the world. (At Orfordness in Suffolk where the Americans have decided to close a radar-tracking station costing a million £ a month the seventy workers have staged a sit-in to urge the Yabkees not to go home - True, they only got twenty-four hours notice.)

But the American hopes of world-power are not the only things to come home to roost. American self-criticism has turned in upon itself and the criticism of Richard Nixon for the Watergate fiasco is as much for the lack of success which it symbolises as for the sordid skull-duggery which is a permanent feature of all governments. Turn up any stone and you will see creatures scurrying about on their normal business, and a lot of stones are getting turned

be thrown did we not all live in glass houses.

The danger of the Watergate affair is not merely (in the words of Thomas Paine) that "it is with a pious fraud as with a bad action, it begets a calamitous necessity of going on". We anarchists see no calamity in Watergate going on. The calamity which might happen in America (here too) is that the latent Puritanism in all nations may converge (e.g. the silent majority, Mary Whitehouse's National Viewers' and Listeners' Association) upon ousting the old gang of politicians and, aided by anti-democratic and pseudo-libertarian sentiments install some new authoritarian coalition of "men of goodwill of all shades of political opinion". If the plight of the United States (or of Britain) is serious enough such a take-over will be by anti-democratic methods 'justified' by the seriousness of the situation.

The dangers in such a situation arise, not from investigations or scandals going too far but not far enough. We would like to see all governments and all politicians discredited. The halting progress of the Poulson enquiry and the adroit move of the arrest of Poulson making all investigation sub judice are paralleled by the

Congress postponing the investigation during the visit of Mr. Brezhnev. No doubt, if it were necessary Mr. Brezhnev would have postponed his visit so that the inquiry could go on without hogging the headlines from him. Is it believed in Washington that Mr. Brezhnev has no knowledge of Watergate unless he reads the American papers when he's in America? or, is it thought that no such things happen in Russia? Any reader of Krokodil could dig up minor scandals every week. The major ones are handled more expertly in the U.S.S.R. (Even Britain manages better.)

The fact is that nobody really wants to make radical changes in America's government. (Not even Brezhnev!) Partly because the removal of Nixon would mean his replacement by Spiro Agnew but largely because too radical a change would mean destruction of the apparatus so useful and beloved of the State, whatever its complexion; and whatever group seizes power will need its phone-taps, its 'plumbers', its list of 'enemies', its school-pigeons, its call-girls, its bribes and kick-backs, its secret funds, its secret and open armies, its secret and open police, its civil servants correct or corrupt -- who would destroy all this... and

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ENERGY CRUNCH

OVER THE LAST three weeks the BBC has shown a trio of programmes on the world energy crisis. The first was the best, on the end of the Oil Age, the second was on the uses of nuclear power and the standard of the programme was noticeably lower, but the third programme on solar energy came back to the earlier programme's distinction.

On oil, it seems, 1995 will see the very end of the fuel with a steadily increasing crisis for petrol probably occurring from 1980-85. Motor manufacturing and the air industry are not yet prepared. It is clear that petrol powered motor vehicles are reaching the end of their dominance in transport and the increase in air flights will have to end very soon. Air transport is possibly the outstanding case of waste, not only in terms of energy but also for the human distress caused through accidents. Man pays dearly for these symbols of prestige in the modern world.

With a growing awareness of the mistaken increasing emphasis on the use of oil for the generation

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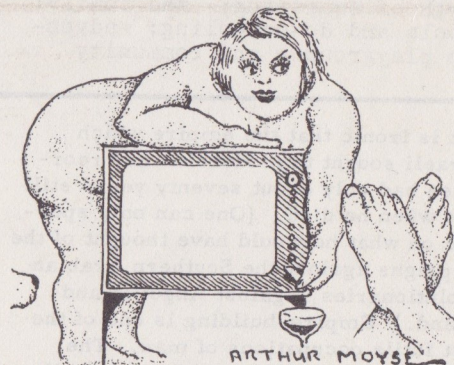
vehicle are things which we can look forward to with pleasure.

In Britain the imminence of crisis is likely to be extremely important. Motor manufacturing takes up a vast supply of labour and it is central to the economy. Enoch Powell, it strikes the observer, is not lurking in the wings for nothing.

Nuclear power is full of risks and the impression conveyed is that the problem of disposing safely of radioactive waste is insoluble. Nuclear energy is not likely to fill the energy gap and, personally, I wonder at the potential of the various sources of energy described in the final programme. Basically the sun was the main source of power described but the contribution of wind, water, the moon, hydrogen and hot springs were also described. There's very little work being done on these sources of energy and doubtless they will be explored more fully in the near future. The other alternative is to decrease energy consumption throughout the world.

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ARTHUR MOYSÉ
WIMBLEDON OR WATERGATE
BELOVED?

ANTI-RACISTS FINED

AS PART of an attempt to counter the increasing volume of racist propaganda being made in the area, two comrades of Leicester Anarchist group flyposted a poster with the message "Unite Against Racism". While doing so they were apprehended by the police and charged with displaying advertisements without proper consent.

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We anarchists would.

Jack Robinson

FREE MARTIN SOSTRE!

MARTIN G. SOSTRE, a 50-year old Puerto Rican anarchist, was convicted of selling heroin and sentenced to 31 to 41 years in prison. Five years after this conviction, Arto Williams, whose testimony sent Martin to prison, has admitted that his evidence was false and that he assisted the police in a deliberate frame-up.

At the time of his conviction Martin G. Sostre was running an Afro-American bookshop in Buffalo, New York. The police got Williams to give Sostre 15 dollars at his shop, for so-called safe keeping. Sostre had done similar favours for Williams before, but this time Williams had heroin on him which was later produced as evidence, as having been bought from Sostre. The police also say they have film of this transaction.

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With a growing awareness of the mistaken increasing emphasis on the use of oil for the generation of electricity it is clear that coal will make a comeback, but there is not the potential to avert the crisis, which is simply an energy gap. Naturally during the decade of growing scarcity the price of oil will increase as will the bargaining power of the Arab oil producing countries where 60% of the world's oil exists. Saudi Arabia and Iran pose the possibility of a reversal of roles in world power. Incidentally Ian Smith is likely to be a sure fatality of the oil shortage as Nigeria has a sizeable supply, over which the Biafran war was fought, and the Nigerian Government will not allow a settlement with Smith.

The manner in which these predictable facts are outlined tends to be serious and full of doom. There is, however, the joyful side, the fact that modern wars are difficult to fight without oil is apparent with the enforced stopping of American B 52's in Vietnam. The decrease of air transport and the end of the motor

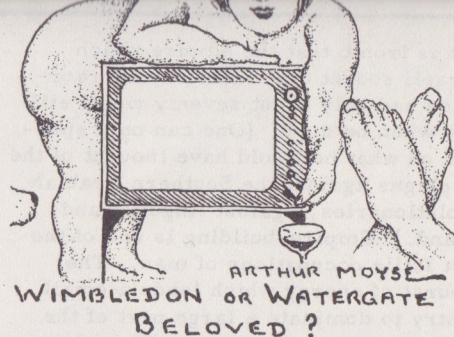
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To the anarchist the position is intriguing and one notices a thread of hope in the "disaster" envisaged in the energy crisis. It is certainly an important factor to work into any formulation of anarchist alternatives for the modern world, as so imaginatively conveyed by Ivan Illich's advocacy of bicycle power. For the developing countries of the world material scarcity is familiar and the rich world's demand for energy is an opportunity to bargain with skill and determination; however it is so often the power elites of the developing countries who benefit and not the whole population. nevertheless, the very items that spur those elites are the results of the exploitation of resources that are growing scarce. There's not only going to be an energy gap and an energy crunch - but a power crunch as well. If you want a year for the Power Crunch, then 1984 has its attractions!

J.W.



ANTI-RACISTS FINED

AS PART of an attempt to counter the increasing volume of racist propaganda being made in the area, two comrades of Leicester Anarchist group flyposted a poster with the message "Unite Against Racism". While doing so they were apprehended by the police and charged with displaying advertisements without proper consent, authority and planning permission. Just to make the thing seem impartial a member of the Enoch Powell support group was similarly charged at the same time, though how one racist and two anarchists represents impartiality is a secret locked forever in the mind of the Chief Constable.

At the magistrate's court a contention that the posters were not advertisements was disregarded and a defence that it was desirable to counter racist propaganda was also dismissed. The two comrades involved were fined £30 each, as was the Enoch Powell support group member, who turned out to be no less a dignitary than their president. A fund has been opened to assist our two comrades in the payment of these fines. The Powellite will no doubt be helped by wealthier backers than the anarchist movement has or wants. Our fund is to help pay the fines of our two comrades. Donations to Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester, will be acknowledged.

Correspondent.

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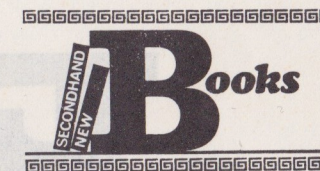
At the time of his conviction Martin G. Sostre was running an Afro-American bookshop in Buffalo, New York. The police got Williams to give Sostre 15 dollars at his shop, for so-called safe keeping. Sostre had done similar favours for Williams before, but this time Williams had heroin on him which was later produced as evidence, as having been bought from Sostre. The police also say they have film of this transaction but so far it has not been produced. The defence claim, with supporting evidence from a film-maker, that even with a high quality zoom lens it would be possible to see only about one foot into the store from across the street, from where the film is said to have been taken.

It seems that the police were out to get Sostre. Before his arrest they had harassed him, visiting the shop and ripping down notices from the community bulletin board and posters from the windows. Three weeks after his arrest, but prior to his indictment, the chief of Buffalo police, Frank Felicetta, testified in Washington, D.C. at a Senate Judicial Sub-committee investigating city riots, that Sostre ran a school to teach the construction and use of Molotov cocktails. It was also alleged that Sostre was making from 2,000 to 10,000 dollars a week from illegal drug transactions.

Martin Sostre, because of his

Continued on p. 4 col.3

THE SEED BENEATH THE SNOW



ANARCHY IN ACTION, Colin Ward,
(Allen & Unwin. Cr.8vo. 143pp.,
sources, bibliog., index.
Hardback £3.50, paperback £1.75

Starting as is usual with reviewers by saying that 'Colin Ward needs no introduction to readers of FREEDOM, WAR COMMENTARY, and the first series of ANARCHY', one goes on to introduce him. He was one of the editors of FREEDOM from 1947 to 1960, contributing much fertile thought on questions of the free society - before sociology became trendy. Under the auspices of Freedom Press he started Anarchy (originally destined to be called "Autonomy": until C.W. was talked out of it) which he edited for ten years from 1961-70, achieving to a great degree his desire to make anarchism not 'respectable', for that it must never be, but worthy of respect. In this quest it might seem to some that anarchism became too trendy and in its watered-down libertarian presentation almost became respectable, only being saved by such Aldermaston pursuits as spreading across Whitehall and general Duff-baiting (vividly illustrated on the dustjacket of this book, taken from Anarchy 28).

Colin Ward was trained as an architect, later took up day-release teaching, now edits the Bulletin of Environmental Education, has been editor of two Penguin educational works on "Violence" and "Work", and has contributed to several anthologies on anarchism. This is his first full length book (he is editing a book Vandalism to be published by the Architectural Press in August at £7.50).

The preface of Anarchy in Action sets forth its argument that "an anarchist society, a society which organises itself without authority, is always in existence, like a seed beneath the snow, buried under the weight of the state and

Silone's novel, Seed Beneath the Snow, and is apt, for anarchism although now somewhat respected is also irrationally feared and we have, internally as well as externally, moved into a snowy climate.

There is a slight strain of anti-intellectualism dormant in anarchism which will reject Colin Ward's book outright because of its sustained drawing on quotations from other writers. Colin Ward has always been an inveterate 'quoter', his memory and files are impeccable, his critics (myself upon disgruntled occasions) called him a 'scissors-and-paste man'. But all this great drawing upon authorities (and I use the word in the Bakuninist sense) is indisputable for he quotes strongly from non-anarchist sources and is free of the incestuous self-justification which disfigures much anarchist journalism.

The book does not discuss international politics (Ireland or Vietnam), the class struggle, individualism, violence or non-violence (save for a reference that "A distinction has to be made between the violence of the oppressor and the resistance of the oppressed"). In that respect it will fail to appeal to those who believe that such issues are the important issues of the anarchist movement.

It does, however, deal with the more positive sides of anarchism, as set out in the quote from the preface. It deals in fact with the seed rather than with the snow. Much of it will be familiar to readers of Anarchy (first series) - or buyers of sets! It deals with anarchism vis-a-vis the State; the anarchist theory of spontaneous order (discussing the risings in Czechoslovakia and Hungary); the question of leadership (touching on 'job satisfaction'); the question of the applicability of anarchism to complex societies; an examination of federation and

workshops; an examination of work and workers' control; a discussion of the breakdown of welfare-hospitals, asylums, institutionalisation and the Claimants' Union, a chapter on 'how deviant dare you get?' and a final chapter: "Anarchy and a Plausible Future".

I find little to quarrel with in this book. I welcome Colin Ward's apparent acceptance of 'permanent anarchism' (even if under the snow) rather than the face-saving formulae of 'permanent protest'.

Factually I can only quarrel with Colin Ward's acceptance of Rowen Engineering Co. as an example of paternalistic workers' control. But the issue was fought to the exhaustion of everybody in previous issues of FREEDOM.

In the realm of publishers' production I can find only one misprint (which I lost again) but I really must regret such high pricing although the value is great. The thinking is so admirably compressed, but £3.50 for a cloth edition of this size is approximately eight times that of about ten years ago. Whose income has been multiplied by eight? The paperback edition is not much better at £1.75 but there's always the public library with free access - and Freedom Bookshop's need for your custom if you just can't resist buying! It's a fine book.

Jack Robinson

fast, in the cities of Eastern Europe, and all over the world, who club and shoot without restraint.

A few years ago, in Britain at anyrate, The Mask of Anarchy might have seemed a quaint, historical relic of a bygone age. Not now. The massacres perpetrated in Ireland by the British army will doubtless be repeated in Britain soon. Many of the same kind of

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Anarchy in Action
Colin Ward cloth £3.50 (10p)
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It is ironic that the empire which Disraeli sought to modernise and reorganise had only about seventy years still to go when he died. (One can only speculate on what he would have thought of the campaigns against the Southern Arabian revolutionaries, against Anguilla and Iceland.) Empire-building is one of the most futile occupations of man. The outburst of energy which leads a small country to dominate a large part of the earth soon burns itself out. Then the small country is exhausted, spiritually and sometimes physically, and falls prey to more powerful neighbours or just becomes a backwater.

What is puzzling is that highly educated people, who presumably know a bit of history, never seem to be able to apply their knowledge to their time and place. Greed and idealism, mixed together, drive them forward to seize as much of the world as they can, regardless of ultimate consequences to the country they claim in all sincerity to be serving. 'Politics', we are told, 'is the art of the

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Shelley advocated non-violent resistance, as did many radicals of that time. Dennis Gould in his preface to this edition, the second to be brought out by Kropotkin's Lighthouse, points out that The Black Dwarf, the original Black Dwarf, not the pale grey modern version, could say of the political clubs, "Those who condemn clubs either do not understand what they can accomplish, or they wish nothing to be done . . . Let us look at and emulate the patient resolution of the Quakers. They have conquered without arms - without violence - without threats. They conquered by union."

It is a thousand pities that Shelley's poem was not published in 1819. It did not come out until 1832. By that time the political climate had become much milder.

Both covers of this edition are decorated with drawings by Arthur Moysé.

Arthur Wardo.

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DISRAELI, by Manuel Komroff,
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IT HAS HAPPENED so often that nationalist leaders are foreigners in the nation they lead that it almost seems like a law of nature. Napoleon was a Corsican, Hitler an Austrian, Stalin a Georgian and many of the leaders of Ireland's struggle against England have been either Englishmen or half English. So it seems only right that Disraeli, English nationalist and imperialist, should in fact be a Jew of Italian and Spanish antecedents.

Manuel Komroff's lively biography is written with sympathy, even enthusiasm, for his subject. There is no question of historical detachment. Gladstone, Disraeli's great opponent, appears as a hysterical, pious humbug. For all I

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Bailey Bros. and Swinfen Ltd., £1.80

IT HAS HAPPENED so often that nationalist leaders are foreigners in the nation they lead that it almost seems like a law of nature. Napoleon was a Corsican, Hitler an Austrian, Stalin a Georgian and many of the leaders of Ireland's struggle against England have been either Englishmen or half English. So it seems only right that Disraeli, English nationalist and imperialist, should in fact be a Jew of Italian and Spanish antecedents.

Manuel Komroff's lively biography is written with sympathy, even enthusiasm, for his subject. There is no question of historical detachment. Gladstone, Disraeli's great opponent, appears as a hysterical, pious humbug. For all I know he may well have been. Disraeli would probably be bewildered if he could return today and find that 'imperialism' has become a dirty word. He would probably be cynically amused by the fact that some of the most vociferous denouncers of imperialism today are supporters of either the American, the Russian or the Chinese empires, all of which are fairly brutal and highly oppressive.

If one has a criticism to make it is that Manuel Komroff tends to write about Tsarist Russia and Bismarck's Germany as if they were the Soviet Union and Hitler's Third Reich. Power politics in the days before aircraft and nuclear weapons was a more leisurely affair, and (for the well-to-do) life was more civilised. The kidnappings, murderings, bombings, torturings with which we are so familiar today, were not a part of high politics. They formed part of the internal politics of the more backward or unsettled parts of European society. No doubt many expected that with the spread of science, enlightenment and all that, such things would cease to happen.

It is ironic that the empire which Disraeli sought to modernise and reorganise had only about seventy years still to go when he died. (One can only speculate on what he would have thought of the campaigns against the Southern Arabian revolutionaries, against Anguilla and Iceland.) Empire-building is one of the most futile occupations of man. The outburst of energy which leads a small country to dominate a large part of the earth soon burns itself out. Then the small country is exhausted, spiritually and sometimes physically, and falls prey to more powerful neighbours or just becomes a backwater.

What is puzzling is that highly educated people, who presumably know a bit of history, never seem to be able to apply their knowledge to their time and place. Greed and idealism, mixed together, drive them forward to seize as much of the world as they can, regardless of ultimate consequences to the country they claim in all sincerity to be serving. 'Politics', we are told, 'is the art of the possible', and politicians seem to be singularly helpless people, very much at the mercy of events, which ultimately means at the mercy of obscure social forces which sweep through human communities.

John Brent

LAW AND ORDER RUN AMOK

THE MASK OF ANARCHY, by Percy Bysshe Shelley, Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1. 10p

THIS SUPERB, beautifully printed edition of Shelley's famous poem, is very timely. When Shelley used the word "anarchy" he did not mean "the absence of government". He meant "the forces of law and order running amok". So the poem speaks directly to our condition today. When the Manchester Yeomanry and the 15th Hussars rode into a peaceful crowd at St. Peter's Fields, slashing at men, women and children, they became the forerunners of the brutal modern police and parachutists in Chicago, in Bel-

has not changed since the seventeenth century.

Shelley advocated non-violent resistance, as did many radicals of that time. Dennis Gould in his preface to this edition, the second to be brought out by Kropotkin's Lighthouse, points out that The Black Dwarf, the original Black Dwarf, not the pale grey modern version, could say of the political clubs, "Those who condemn clubs either do not understand what they can accomplish, or they wish nothing to be done . . . Let us look at and emulate the patient resolution of the Quakers. They have conquered without arms - without violence - without threats. They conquered by union."

It is a thousand pities that Shelley's poem was not published in 1819. It did not come out until 1832. By that time the political climate had become much milder.

Both covers of this edition are decorated with drawings by Arthur Moyse.

Arthur Wardo.

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by Vernon Richards

This is not a reprint of the work with the same title published by FREEDOM PRESS in 1953. It is a new and considerably expanded version which the author prepared for an Italian edition published in 1957, and recently published in Paris in a Spanish translation.

Additional chapters deal with such important topics as the Militarization of the Militias, the Cult of the Organisation and of Personalities, the Rank and File's Responsibility.

As well as a Select Bibliography, the author has contributed a 20-page Bibliographical Postscript in which he discusses the most important works that have appeared on the subject in the past twelve years.

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WORKERS' CONTROL OR STATE CONTROL?

THE Institute for Workers' Control have published a short pamphlet* covering some of the main statements from those attending their ninth national conference in Nottingham. FREEDOM did have a correspondent there and his report appeared in Vol. 34 no. 19. However this pamphlet is worth an answer to clarify what is meant by workers' control. For it seems that like socialism and libertarianism, workers' control is, as an idea, being discredited by the so-called revolutionary parties like the Socialist Labour League, International Socialists, and reformist groups like the Institute.

Throughout the pamphlet there are references to the fact that even the rank and file of the Labour Party members do not have control over their party through their annual conference decisions. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, M.P. (referred to as Tony Benn in the pamphlet) listed the issues on which the Labour government went against conference decisions. He also answered a question about the 17 points he had listed in an article in the Sunday Times "which the Tory government has taken, which he feels could be used by a Socialist Government for the benefit of the working class."

These included the Rolls Royce legislation to nationalise by a one-clause bill. The Industry Act which is used to give financial support "where it is likely to benefit the economy of the United Kingdom". Power over prices and power to demand information under the Counter-Inflation Act about companies. "For example, when a monopoly existed, or where a merger proposal came in, Government would itself be acquainted with all the facts and figures and forecasts of the major firms proposing to merge".

saw that they would alienate too much of their traditional support. The measures visualized in this pamphlet are those of Government and State control. The structure necessary to secure workers' control has nothing to do with Government and the State, since if power is invested with these institutions it could lead to a Corporate State.

The pamphlet mentions a statement made by Tony Benn M.P. and recalled by Peter Price which said, "if you expect Socialism through a Parliamentary system, you've got another guess coming". But Tony Benn really only means that workers have to bring pressure to bear through the Labour Party and their trade unions and other organisations they may be members of, to achieve "Socialism". Anarchists would reply that we have to go beyond demands and pressures and take what we believe is ours. History is full of examples of "Socialist" governments holding back the true aspirations of workers and peasants in their desire for taking over and controlling their work places. History also shows us that legislation is not needed but only the conscious desire by people for control of their own lives. Whenever the power of the State has been broken we find workers and peasants seizing their work places and the land and working for the benefit of the community. Russia, Mexico and Spain show us how political parties, government and the State take away the initiative from the people who were striving for liberty.

Workers' control is real decision making by those who work with hand and brain. It has nothing to do with government and the State, but is its opposite in that it proclaims people's independence

Contentious Contention

ANARCHISTS ARE 'those who deny all external authority over the individual, whether that of the present State, or that of some industrial collectivity that the future may produce' (Benj. R. Tucker). And I would extend this denial to all 'internalized' authority such as 'conscience' or the 'sense of moral obligation'. 'Thou shalt' and 'thou shalt not' are as despotic as 'It is commanded'.

* * *

Anarchism is the concern of individuals, not of an economic class. It is not a creed of social salvation, but the fight for the individual against the authority of the Collective. It is a way of individuation - an individualism, not a socialism.

* * *

Many of those who call themselves 'anarchists' are no more than anti-parliamentary communists whose goal of 'anarchy' would amount to a kind of democratic, federalist utopia shorn of capitalist and State privileges, but not of authority. Egalitarianism is not anarchism, nor is the rule of the acephalous mob.

* * *

If 'anarchism' were acceptable as a synonym for 'individualism' there would be no need to speak of 'anarchist individualism'. However, certain professed anarchists object to individualism and emphasize the 'free society' rather than the 'free individual'. Indeed, some go so far as to proclaim the need to 'subordinate the individual to the social factor' (Gaston Leval). It is because they are opposed to this linking of anarchism with collectivism that anarchist-individualists call themselves such. For them self-sovereignty is their starting point - not the eventual product of some future social millennium.

* * *

Can one call oneself an anarchist, yet not believe in the practicability or possibility of an anarchist society?

I ask the question because the defining of an anarchist has become so bound up with what Francis Ellingham once called 'the socialised mind' that few appear to

The socialised mind means that 'we tend to think more and more in terms of society as a whole, less and less in terms of the unique human individual. Confronted with any economic or social problem, we tend to look for a solution which will at best enable society to go on functioning, smoothly and efficiently, according to some ideal plan' (Anarchy, May 1966).

The result of this is that an anarchist is thought of not as someone who negates authority for himself or herself, but as someone who wants to negate authority for everyone and therefore has to postulate a future state of affairs in which this universal negation will be realized. Up to now almost all commentators on anarchism - including some individualists - have accepted this view.

I do not.

In his remarkable and important novel Journey Not To End (Panther 1966), Paul Herr writes

'A State is a State is a State. Even Revolution, which promises to change All, changes only the personnel, not the System - the guards and the prisoners exchange stations, as in a children's game of musical chairs.'

'A man can only liberate himself by himself and for himself. There is no other way - all else is madness or collaboration.'

It is for this reason, among others, that I doubt very much if the 'social question' can ever be solved in an anarchist manner. Social organization and individual autonomy are perpetual antinomies. But the anarchist opposition to authority still stands and is the negative aspect of the individualist mode of being.

* * *

For me, then, an anarchist is someone who acknowledges no authority, not even that of Anarchy. I accept that I cannot destroy anarchism, nor do I believe that it will ever be destroyed, but I can still refuse to be its creature, I can be my own, belonging to neither State nor Society. An anarchist is a permanent

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These included the Rolls Royce legislation to nationalise by a one-clause bill. The Industry Act which is used to give financial support "where it is likely to benefit the economy of the United Kingdom". Power over prices and power to demand information under the Counter-Inflation Act about companies. "For example, when a monopoly existed, or where a merger proposal came in, Government would itself be acquainted with all the facts and figures and fore forecasts of the major firms proposing to merge".

He even mentions an "unfair practice" as defined for trade union activities in the present Industrial Relations Act which could be used in a Companies Act against "asset stripping or insider-dealing".

These and the other points are hardly, by any stretch of the imagination, steps towards workers' control. All these measures were taken by government in order to assist the present profit-motive system. The Labour Party when they formed the government took similar measures and were only diverted from bringing in their own Industrial Relations Act when they

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Workers' control is real decision making by those who work with hand and brain. It has nothing to do with government and the State, but is its opposite in that it proclaims people's independence from these institutions of power and oppression. The class nature of society divides those who are rulers and ruled, controllers and controlled. While government and the institutions of the State exist these struggles and conflicts will remain. Until these institutions are abolished real workers' control will not exist, only an imitation which the State will limit and watch over.

P.T.

*Workers' Control: How far can the structure meet our demands?
Price 15p. Bertrand Russell
House, 45 Gamble St., Forest Road West, Nottingham NG7 4ET.

The Charrington Street squat was just opening up and I came here. I entered the next empty house and a depressing feeling overcame me - how low can a man sink, I thought, as I went inside. The rooms were dark, corrugated on the windows, floor-boards up, electric wires stripped down for scrap, the lead water pipe ripped out for scrap. Gas cut off. Toilets smashed and sink ripped out together with the window frames.

But I was homeless and this was the only roof over my head I could find, so I took it.

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I ask the question because the defining of an anarchist has become so bound up with what Francis Ellingham once called 'the socialised mind' that few appear to be able to think of anarchism apart from some concept of a social transformation.

BRITISH LEYLAND

- The Beginning of the End.

LAST WEEK Counter Information Service published their fifth report. Formed a year ago and comprising 6 or 7 young professionals from different fields, they claim no group backing either industrial or political, maintaining that their support comes from charitable trusts and private subscription. No. 1 was a critical look at Rio Tinto Zinc; No. 5 concentrates on British Leyland and is entitled "British Leyland. The Beginning of the End?"

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S. E. Parker

Squatting

ACCORDING to government figures which were headlined a few weeks ago there are 100,000 empty houses in London.

According to my guess there are no more than 3,000 squatters in London, occupying no more than 500 houses.

It means that 995,000 houses are still empty. Why? Why do people prefer to search for rented rooms when they could be living rent-free?

Squatting is like jumping over a cliff, and all of us think that if

Whilst considerably more than £264m invested in the past 5 years it has to be recognized as peanuts in relation to its major competitors. Volkswagon may be expected to invest £1,300m over the same period and FIAT at least £750m - to say nothing of the American giants General Motors or Ford, or fast growing Japanese companies Nissan and Toyota, all of whom invest as much in a year as BLMC will over the next five."

So much for strikes being the 'true cause' of the company's difficulties.

C.I.S. then deals with BLMC's multinational activities, or lack of them. Spain, because of its "amenable work force, is receiving much attention as the company shifts considerable resources there." Conditions within U.K. plants are examined. In particular the attempt by management to more closely control labour costs by getting rid of the old piece-work system and substituting for it Measured Day Work. Though that did have the effect of weakening shop floor control, management un-

against "asset stripping or insider-dealing".

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Squatting is like jumping over a cliff, and all of us think that if you jump horrible things will happen to you.

I remember the fears I had when I was going squatting. Firstly I thought my room will be insecure, that everybody will be wandering in and out - a thing I was not accustomed to - then I thought any day the bailiffs may come and throw my belongings out into the street when I happen to be out, or that the police will come and throw you out. Then I thought I will lose all my private possessions, like my books, my typewriter, my bicycle.

But I had no choice. I was under eviction and I had to get out of my rented accommodation.

I went to Camden where I knew some squatters and asked for a room. I was told there are 2,000 empty houses in Camden and the thing to do is to find yourself one, do the repairing, move in and live there.

The Charrington Street squat was just opening up and I came here. I entered the next empty house and a depressing feeling overcame me - how low can a man sink, I thought, as I went inside. The rooms were dark, corrugated on the windows, floor-boards up, electric wires stripped down for scrap, the lead water pipe ripped out for scrap. Gas cut off. Toilets smashed and sink ripped out together with the window frames.

But I was homeless and this was the only roof over my head I could find, so I took it.

I selected two rooms for myself, got a length of 13 amp electric cable and ran a point to my 'flat'. Now I could have lights, electric heater, an electric kettle. I put the floor-boards back in again, gave it a good sweep out with the broom, brought in some furniture from other derelict houses, rearranged my things - bookshelves, mattress, beautified the flat a bit and left the rest of the house in its derelict condition.

I had to fetch water in a bucket from two houses away, and use either a public toilet or my neighbours'.

I put a lock on the door, and I felt happy and secure. I got to like my new flat, and I liked the pioneering spirit of the other squatters who kept pouring in. And I was living rent-free.

I shall continue with the story next week.

Reverend Father Fuck, D.D.

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In the House of Commons last week conditions in the car industry were debated. These reasonable and articulate men went through the motions of horrifying each other. The issues raised were horrifying: power without responsibility, of the multinational car manufacturers, men like drones - mere adjuncts of the machines they serve - working in destructive noise and filth. But since the issues were over-dressed in the mannerisms and imagery of that ancient assembly no one was really horrified.

In its report, or anti-report, C.I.S. contend that British Leyland, after this year's boom, face serious financial difficulties. That it will be liable and open to foreign takeover and that redundancies are inevitable.

After outlining British Leyland Motor Company's declining status among the motor car companies of the motor car companies of the world, the report continues: "It is this harsh fact which sets the background for the recently announced investment plans to spend £400m over the next 5 years.

Whilst considerably more than £264m invested in the past 5 years it has to be recognized as peanuts in relation to its major competitors. Volkswagon may be expected to invest £1,300m over the same period and FIAT at least £750m - to say nothing of the American giants General Motors or Ford, or fast growing Japanese companies Nissan and Toyota, all of whom invest as much in a year as BLMC will over the next five."

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If the conclusions in this attractively produced 57-page report can be accepted, and a BLMC judgement on seeing it, "It renders any comment superfluous" tends to confirm there is something of substance here, then there will be a scrap. Government will not allow the major British car manufacturer to sink or disappear abroad but, rather, will refloat, another lame duck. Nor will the strong shop floor organisation at BLMC be cooking their own goose.

1.7.73

Bill Smith.

LETTERS

PROFESSOR EYSENCK'S NOSE

VIEWPOINT ON ORGANIZATIONS

Dear Editors,

You seem to feel justified in devoting an entire page of FREEDOM to Peter Neville's asinine article. Not only does this article advocate retreating into quietism and wishy-washy reformism but it dismisses the class struggle in a few ludicrous lines. But above all it implies that ORA somehow forcibly pressganged people - Neville doesn't say how - into joining them and that the AFB was deliberately "sabotaged". In my opinion the AFB was only fairly cohesive in the first year or so of its formation; after that it existed only on people's - unless you regard the chaotic annual "conferences" that took place - where all and sundry who happened to call themselves Anarchists (who I wouldn't consider as such) were free to peddle their middle class viewpoints - as AFB functions.

The following week in FREEDOM you print a thinly-veiled attack on ORA saying that a certain organisation (At least be honest and say who you mean) are aping the structure of IS. Now if you were a bit less narrow-minded you would see that ORA is not built on a democratic-centralist pattern but is a thorough-going libertarian organisation.

You also dismiss the pamphlet "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" - very important reading for all libertarians - in a very superficial manner.

Libertarian Struggle is a paper democratically run and with a rotating editorial board. Could you say the same for FREEDOM - who claim to be the voice of the British Anarchist movement when they need help and at other times deny being such and say they speak only for the FREEDOM group?

Dear All,

Periodically in the columns of the National Press one sees statements from Oswald Mosley to the effect that he is not and never has been a racist. In days gone by, when I had to make an academic study of the writings of the late Adolph Hitler, I found frequent claims to the same effect. Yet anyone who studies the totality of their writings rather than these protestations might come to a different view, and even Tony Gibson might concede that there is grounds for suspecting that the Final Solution suggests an element of racism.

Similarly if one studies the totality of Prof. Eysenck's works one might be tempted to withhold credence from that quote that Comrade Gibson finds so convincing.

Others have written to show that the whole concept of intelligence is a nonsense, but it is worth adding to this the tendentious nature of the choice of "correct" answers for so many intelligence tests. For instance one of Eysenck's has a question listing five or six words all but one of which begin with the letter "s", asking for the odd man out; but it is not the one that does not begin with an "s" that is odd, there is a somewhat tenuous connection in terms of meaning of all but one.

But while anyone with an element of independent thinking is aware that intelligence is not all that important anyway, while the same people will realise that facility with intelligence tests anyway only proves a capability to do intelligence tests and there is no proved relationship between this and real intelligence; it is nevertheless true - particularly in the States - that streaming in schools and jobs are often depend-

AXEL SPRINGER'S TERRORIST PRESS

EVERY YEAR there is a meeting of anarchists, pacifists and free socialists in Appelscha (Netherlands) at Whitsun. It is a meeting to meet each other, to discuss different ideas and to exchange experiences. Apart from that one lays in the sun or joins the groups walking in the forest nearby. Sometimes a film is shown which is meant to fan discussion.

Nothing else happened this year, but Axel Springer's newspaper Bild am Sonntag dated June 10, wanted more:

"Terrorists plan new strokes

Yesterday the police arrested Heiner Willi P., a probable secret courier of a new international movement of terrorists, in Bertheim/Niedersachsen. A passport forged in the name 'von Falkenstein', which seems to have been issued in Naples, was found. He had papers in his luggage which indicate liaisons with the rest of the Baader-Meinhof gang and the anarchistic CPG. The police checked whether the courier had come from a meeting of international terrorists in the Netherlands. During the weekend, camouflaged as campers, terrorists from Arabia, Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany discussed joint new violent deeds in Appeldorn."

Here, peaceful people are accused of being bomb throwers. The 'terrorists' from Northern Ireland, Arabia and North Africa, a Marxist-Leninist cadre party (CPG) and the Baader-Meinhof gang (RAF) are far-fetched. The reason: every sensitive and sensible person can see it. The ruling classes try to create alarm and anxiety amongst the population to cover up and justify their steps of oppression.

At first it is a national organisation of terrorists, then, if that does not work, one produces an international one. This method is well known. It is practised by the ruling class in East and West, and not for the first time. Why wonder -- from people who consider their chaotic system



THURSDAYS 2 p.m. onwards. Help fold and despatch FREEDOM at Freedom Press

SATURDAY 7th July. March on Dulwich College, assemble 2 p.m. Brockwell Park, near Herne Hill Station. Dulwich College NUSS. Aims: Recognize NUSS's right to organise within Dulwich College Close down Dulwich College as a Public School, and all other schools which are just for the rich.

EVERY SATURDAY 2 - 4 p.m. Picket outside Brixton Prison. BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE (more information from the Committee, 88 Roslyn Road, London, N.15)

LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION NETWORK no longer has a permanent central address, but still exists. Contact via a member, or possibly Libertarian Education magazine, c/o 180 Melbourne Road, Leicester.

Couple seek unfurnished flat, London area, fixtures & fittings £500. Tel. SLOUGH 83985

Couple want to sell house and buy small farm in Utttoxeter/Ashbourne/Leek area. Want to discuss with similar people for joint venture. J and F. J. Allen, 35 Fairfield Avenue, Bollington, Macclesfield (tel. Bollington 73562)

ANARCHO-FEMINISM : any women interested in forming group London area please ring Jan at 229 0784 (number wrongly given as 299 last week)

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meetings first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk, 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone, C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool

LONDON ASA meetings - for details

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Yours fraternally,
Oxford. Nick Heath

Editors answer: It may have escaped Nick Heath's notice that we 'democratically' gave as much space (or more) to Peter Newell's exposition of ORA's aims. Who said anarchists were democrats anyhow? We have never claimed to be the voice of the movement even when we have appealed for money. Also, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" was given a column-length review in FREEDOM 23.6.73.

[We think * may be a slip of the pen and should have been 'paper']

VICTORY OVER CHRYSLER'S

Dear Friends,

So sorry to be a skeleton at the Chrysler Victory Festival but after the last toasts have been drunk and the glorious dawn acclaimed with cosy Auld Lang Synes would it be unseemly to suggest that a 100% solid and permanent stay out

that Conrad Gibson finds so convincing.

Others have written to show that the whole concept of intelligence is a nonsense, but it is worth adding to this the tendentious nature of the choice of "correct" answers for so many intelligence tests. For instance one of Eysenck's has a question listing five or six words all but one of which begin with the letter "s", asking for the odd man out; but it is not the one that does not begin with an "s" that is odd, there is a somewhat tenuous connection in terms of meaning of all but one.

But while anyone with an element of independent thinking is aware that intelligence is not all that important anyway, while the same people will realise that facility with intelligence tests anyway only proves a capability to do intelligence tests and there is no proved relationship between this and real intelligence; it is nevertheless true - particularly in the States - that streaming in schools and jobs are often dependant on results in IQ tests.

No doubt the real evil is the ridiculous worth put on intelligence tests, and the existence of the economic differentials that make for streaming and good or bad career prospects. No doubt the IQ test cannot of itself be blamed for this evil. But Eysenck assuredly is culpable in so far as he has contributed very heavily to the myth of the IQ test, and is not known for deprecating the usage made of his tests.

Yours faithfully,
Wellington Laurens Otter
P.S. To forestall Gibson's reply, I should perhaps mention that whereas I have never been good in exams I have always found IQ tests easy. L.O.

Can this correspondence now be closed? --Eds.

FRENCH TEST

WARRAWONG. 24th June.--The efforts versus the French Nuclear Tests, in Australia have resulted in the usually vocal communist parties taking a silent or even obstructive line on the tests.

sons with the rest of the Baader-Meinhof gang and the anarchistic CPG. The police checked whether the courier had come from a meeting of international terrorists in the Netherlands. During the week-end, camouflaged as campers, terrorists from Arabia, Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany discussed joint new violent deeds in Appeldorn."

Here, peaceful people are accused of being bomb throwers. The 'terrorists' from Northern Ireland, Arabia and North Africa, a Marxist-Leninist cadre party (CPG) and the Baader-Meinhof gang (RAF) are far-fetched. The reason: every sensitive and sensible person can see it. The ruling classes try to create alarm and anxiety amongst the population to cover up and justify their steps of oppression.

At first it is a national organisation of terrorists, then, if that does not work, one produces an international one. This method is well known. It is practised by the ruling class in East and West, and not for the first time. Why wonder -- from people who consider their chaotic system as order one cannot expect anything else.

The article shows once more the drift to a fascist-type system in the Federal Republic of Germany - and probably not only there.

To interpret the signs of the times correctly and to find ways and means to prevent the development of a new barbarism is our duty for the near future.

THE STATE AND ITS SERVANTS ARE
THE TRUE TERRORISTS!

R. Eckard/1973

MARTIN SOSTRE...continued from p.1

work for the local community and a previous jail sentence for selling narcotics, was an obvious choice for a frame-up. Williams received money from the police and charges of theft were dropped for his testimony. The Buffalo police had told Williams that they considered Sostre to be "the cause" of the riots in 1967.

Sostre is still in jail a year after Williams has admitted his false evidence. Sostre has released statements documenting that he has been regularly beaten, threatened and harassed while in prison.

from the Committee,
88 Roslyn Road, London, N.15)

LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION NETWORK no longer has a permanent central address, but still exists. Contact via a member, or possibly Libertarian Education magazine, c/o 180 Melbourne Road, Leicester.

Couple seek unfurnished flat, London area, fixtures & fittings £500. Tel. SLOUGH 83985

Couple want to sell house and buy small farm in Uttoxeter/Ashbourne/Leek area. Want to discuss with similar people for joint venture. J and F. J. Allen, 35 Fairfield Avenue, Bollington, Macclesfield (tel. Bollington 73562)

ANARCHO-FEMINISM : any women interested in forming group London area please ring Jan at 229 0784 (number wrongly given as 299 last week)

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meetings first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk, 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone, C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool

LONDON ASA meetings--for details 'phone 226-0817. Black & Red outlook always available, 5p + 2½p, 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange London, N.5.

S.E. LONDON MENTAL PATIENTS UNION meets every Tuesday 8 p.m. at The Albany Community Centre, Creek Rd. Deptford, S. E. 8.

Paul Goodman : J.G. Lergessner of Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada is researching Goodman's contribution to reform in education during the 1960's and wishes to contact people now engaged in work on Goodman

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE
265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent
(Freedom Bookshop also stocks pamphlets etc. by Michael Tobin published by Defence Committee)
STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE is at 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.16

New publications

Norwich Anarchist Group have brought out No. 4 of their 16 pp. duplicated magazine (2p + 2½p from Eamonn McArdle, 63 Dereham Road, Norwich), BLACK RAT.

CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER is about

...and Nick Heath's notice that we 'democratically' gave as much space (or more) to Peter Newell's exposition of ORA's aims. Who said anarchists were democrats anyhow? We have never claimed to be the voice of the movement even when we have appealed for money. Also, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" was given a column-length review in FREEDOM 23.6.73.

[We think * may be a slip of the pen and should have been 'paper']

VICTORY OVER CHRYSLER'S

Dear Friends,

So sorry to be a skeleton at the Chrysler Victory Festival but after the last toasts have been drunk and the glorious dawn acclaimed with cosy Auld Lang Synes would it be unseemly to suggest that a 100% solid and permanent stay out strike might have proved more relevant to our present needs and our aspirations for the future? If every bloody farting car factory (I make no apology for this departure from the language of gentlemanly militant debate) closed down tightly and irrevocably here and now, not only would we have gone a long way to getting our priorities right but our anarchist scheme of humane values would have received life-giving affirmation. After all, if the "day to day" struggle for "victory" on the shop floor continues along the lines so often celebrated even in FREEDOM, why not feature jolly little articles on the stirring campaigns in Porton and Nancecuke, not to mention the encouraging signs of a new militancy at Dow Chemicals?

Yours in anarchy,
David Sedley

London.

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FRENCH TEST

WARRAWONG. 24th June.--The efforts versus the French Nuclear Tests, in Australia have resulted in the usually vocal communist parties taking a silent or even obstructive line on the tests. Even APEX clubs, Returned Soldiers Leagues and political parties - barring the Democratic Labour Party (the catholic action, pronuclear armament, procensorship party) - have made utterances in disfavour of this nuclear madness.

The so-called 'peace movement' machine is also strangely quiet even on the Cambodian bombing; it seems that whatever stimulates these administration-prone organizations it is not significantly the cause of humanity. The general response from the 'left' is that they plead ignorance, the pace of university life is too strenuous to allow for other issues, or that it is soft to profess interest in these affairs.

Meanwhile, it is gratifying that a military decision to intervene versus the French navy has been resisted. It is hoped that by universal awareness and condemnation the paranoid assumptions of militarism will be thwarted and the brains and material devoted to war may be turned to the universal betterment of mankind.

Fraternally,
Col Pollard

...and probably also not there.

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Sostre is still in jail a year after Williams has admitted his false evidence. Sostre has released statements documenting that he has been regularly beaten, threatened and harassed while in prison.

The new evidence of Williams's false testimony has been presented in the Federal Court but a decision to release Sostre on bail and grant a new trial is not expected for two or three months.

In the meantime Sostre remains in solitary confinement in Unit 14 at Clinton Prison. The Martin Sostre Defense Committee say he "has been segregated for 8 months existing under the most cruel conditions imaginable". The Defense Committee want letters of protest at the continual harassment to be sent to Commissioner Peter Preiser, State Campus, Albany, N.Y. 12226. Letters of support, and money, can be sent to Martin Sostre, P.O. Box B, Dannemora, New York 12929. They also urge comrades to write to Judge John T. Curtin, U.S. Courthouse, Buffalo, New York 14201, urging that he drop all charges against Martin Sostre and order his release from prison. (Please if possible keep carbon copies of such letters - address of the Defense Committee will be given next week.) P.T.

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CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER is about spiritual & political liberation, about nonviolence, resistance and making alternatives. Issue 45 (June) has articles on Coventry 6, Universal message, and lots more. 8p or sub £1.25 for twelve issues, 65p for six, from 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester 21.

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